

PEACE NEWS

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Can U.S. enforce the new Truman Doctrine?

MR. TRUMAN'S message to Congress is still reverberating round the world: very naturally, since it is the most important statement of American world-policy since the almost legendary promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine by President Monroe in 1823.

That is a long while ago—in fact, it marked the beginning of the period during which war between USA and Britain became a moral impossibility. The Monroe Doctrine itself helped very powerfully towards that consummation. "Any attempt," said President Monroe, "to extend the system of the Allied Powers to any portion of this hemisphere" would be regarded by the United States "as dangerous to our peace and safety." By the "system of the Allied Powers" was meant the principle of

COMMENTARY

by

John Middleton Murry

"legitimacy": and the doctrine meant that no part of the Americas could be made subject to a European monarch without the United States going to war to prevent it. Not long after followed self-government for Canada.

The Truman Doctrine

IT is impossible not to be struck by the connection between the Monroe and the Truman Doctrine. "Totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of peace and hence the security of the United States." In 1823 the extension of absolute monarchy from Europe to any part of the Western hemisphere was denounced as a menace to USA; in 1947 the extension of totalitarian regimes to free peoples is similarly denounced. It is, if it is to be validated, an enormous commitment. As expounded by Mr. Acheson in reply to questioning by the Foreign Affairs Committee, it lacks nothing in explicitness. "The existence of communist-dominated governments in any part of the world would be considered dangerous to United States security."

The end of U.N.

PERHAPS the most significant thing about this pronouncement is that it ignores the United Nations. That is the more marked because the occasion of the pronouncement is Greece, where a UN commission of inquiry is actually at work. There is good reason why UN should be ignored. Most people have given up hope that it will come to any decisions at all in the matters which lead to conflict. The Soviet use of the veto-power has been such as to make it a farcical instrument for removing causes of conflict. Then, at the critical moment, came Mr. Gromyko's speech of March 8 to the Security Council definitely refusing international control of atomic energy. The United Nations was kaput.

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

The hope of a new world order

BRITAIN AND THE U.S.A. MUST LEAD THE WAY

WILFRED WELLOCK
concludes the series of
articles prompted by
his American tour

THIS was the conviction which induced me to accept the invitation to tour the U.S.: that the world economy which began to collapse had run its course, and that if mankind were to escape new ideological terrors and the extinctions of the third world war, it could only be by the spiritual vision and the constructive genius of the U.S. and Britain, made manifest in a new economy as a prelude to a new world order.

It stood out in blazing clearness to me that the second world war had brought the process of world collapse to its final stage, and that if at this juncture Britain and the U.S. failed to read the signs of the times, the doom already foreshadowed on the world's political horizon would be

China's most critical year

THE speaker on "Britain and China's Destiny" at the NPC lunch-hour meeting on Mar. 19 was Mr. Gerald Samson, author of "The Far East Ablaze," who has recently returned from a fact-finding mission in China.

From all that he saw and was privileged to hear, he is convinced that the country is facing the most critical and significant year in its entire history. Within the next twelve months we shall see either the beginning of China's rise to the status of a major stabilising force in world affairs, or else the beginning of the end of China as an ordered entity.

A guarantee for peace

Britain's concern in all this is deep. A strong, unified China offers the best guarantee for peace and security of the entire western pacific area. Such a China would be the world's largest market for foreign exports of almost every description.

What was holding China's fate in the balance was the civil war that was taking place over there. The outlook would be very black indeed but for the new situation created by the unanimous adoption on Christmas Day last year of a democratic constitution by the National Assembly in Nanking, due to come into effect on Christmas Day of this year.

The Communists were only willing to resume negotiations with the Government if two demands were conceded: 1. That everything that had been done by the National Assembly, including the passing of the new constitution, should be annulled. 2. That the Government troops should be withdrawn to the lines occupied on Jan. 13 last year, the date the first cease-fire agreement came into operation: agreements that both sides failed to honour.* On the other hand, the Government had been more fortunate in gaining the co-operation of two minor parties, the "Young China Party" and the "Social Democrats," whose influence is out of all proportion to their numbers.

Chiang still dominant

The speaker believed that General Chiang Kai-shek, still the dominating figure on China's stage, was definitely standing behind the plan to make China a democracy. When asked, "Do you think that the Chinese communists can be beaten on the battlefield?" he replied, "The political battle cannot be fought out on the battlefield, but only through a better administration." If this directive be given and accepted, then China will soon be on the way to putting her own house in order.

*It is reported that Yenan, the cave-city capital of the communists, has now fallen to the Chinese Government troops.

fulfilled. For example, the "way of life" of Britain and the U.S. was incompatible with the demand of all the nations for political and economic independence. In not a single area of the world would they be able to acquire for more than a very few years the markets that were necessary to sustain their indefensible economy and high "standard of living."

Governmental blindness

So far neither the socialist Government of Britain nor the ultra-capitalist Government of the U.S. has shown any signs of realising either the underlying causes of the recent war or its more significant and revolutionary effects. Both are placing a blind, irrational faith in the possibility of substantially and steadily raising the standard of living of the common people of the whole world. But how is that going to happen in a demoralised, materialistic age, whose economy, whether under socialism, capitalism or communism, is based on money values, and thus on personal and class advantage and selfishness? With superb irony Britain not less loudly than others makes this claim, while yet calling upon her people to endure a very austere standard of living for a period which persistently lengthens.

An iniquitous economy

She appears not to realise that the reason why she cannot get anywhere near her export target is that she has at last been caught in the toils of an iniquitous economy which she took a prominent part in establishing, and which happened to serve her material interests up to 1939, but will do so no longer. At this moment she is at the zenith of her power and opportunity to regain her 1939 economic status, yet she pursues willy-nilly her old course. That she should be considering whether to draft her youth into the export trades in order to maintain a high income level called "standard of living," or into the fighting services in order to keep intact a collapsing economy, is not merely a domestic tragedy but one of the great tragedies of history.

The plight of the U.S. is scarcely less serious. Banking on the unlimited resilience of the capitalist system, American big business naturally concludes that given a revival of capitalism all over the world, unlimited markets will be available for U.S. efficiency. It thus fails to understand the mentality of the post-war world and even the real nature of its own brand of capitalism, wherein each section plays for its own hand only, disregarding of the national well-being. Incidentally it is this very fact which makes American politics so utterly incalculable.

These conditions but serve to emphasise the greatness of task to be accomplished, which is to set up an economic system which has regard to the spiritual no less than the

material needs of its citizens as producers and consumers, and likewise the citizens of all other countries.

To this end its creators will adopt productive techniques which will enable every person to achieve maximum quality and utility, and there-through maximum beauty, in whatever they make or do.

Value of small Units

They will create small units rather than large, be they towns, factories, machines, or productive and administrative organisations, since social awareness, personal responsibility and creativeness reach their maximum power where the units are small. The least tendency to giantism tends to weaken the significance and responsibility of the person.

Its objective will be a qualitative civilisation consisting of highly developed human persons, institutions that are calculated to develop human personality in greatest measure, a satisfying and inspiring environment, and a culture which will draw out of men the best that is in them, and produce a spirit of independence which will deliver them from their present enslavement to money, fashion, excitement and power, all of which are destroyers of peace.

Supreme tasks

But who are to be its creators? It must and can only be those who have the vision of it. National and world economy are in the last resort the economy of individual men writ large. Out of a true personal economy will come a true national and, in due course, a true world economy. I believe that one of the supreme tasks of the sociologist, the pacifist, the Christian today, is to discover the size and nature of the social unit in which every human being may live as a human person, in the knowledge and love of God, and as a builder of the Kingdom of Heaven. This is the economy we have to discover and to build. The standard of living which it affords will include spiritual as well as material values. The time to build it is now; and among the builders must be the pacifists of Britain and the United States.



THE RAKE'S PROGRESS

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CHRISTIAN COMPROMISE

LAST week we drew attention to the report of the American Churches, condemning the Allied policy of obliteration bombing. It is interesting to note that among prominent Christians endorsing this report is Reinhold Niebuhr. Niebuhr, one of the most influential Protestant thinkers in the States, has done more than any other serious critic to discredit the cause of pacifism. His exposure of "pacifist individualism," during the early days of the War, drove as many C.O.s into the armed forces as all the tribunals in this country.

Niebuhr's opposition to pacifism derives from his belief that obedience to the Sermon on the Mount is impossible in present-day society. Whether for good or ill, we are now members one of another, economically. We cannot step out of organised society, except by committing suicide. To disclaim responsibility for the sins of society, therefore, is to betray ignorance of the reality of our situation. To pretend that we can follow Jesus literally is to overlook the fact that, as members of society, we are never faced with a choice between good and evil, but only between a greater evil and a lesser.

That Niebuhr's contention is sound can hardly be doubted: though we would question the effectiveness of a Church that makes no provision for those accepting the consilium—those desiring to live the life of the Gospel. After all, the terms "greater" and "lesser evil" become as nonsensical as the modern "progressive," apart from a clearly-defined ideal of "the good"—and that can only be upheld by example. It was the example of the monastic orders which prevented the Catholic Church from surrendering to, instead of compromising with, the secular society; and Protestantism has always been too little aware of this necessity, as Newman and Kierkegaard realised.

Be that as it may, Niebuhr effectively disposes of the pacifist who claims to "resist not evil" and yet shows no sign of ordering his other activities in accordance with the Sermon on the Mount. He is convicted of "bourgeois idealism."

But is all contemporary pacifism of this kind? On the contrary, most of us are pacifists today precisely because we accept Niebuhr's diagnosis. We make no claim to follow the consilium; we hold that pacifism is the "lesser evil": because modern war precludes obedience even to the *praecepta*—those minimum standards of individual and social behaviour which are obligatory upon all who "profess and call themselves Christians."

The Church, ever since it first took responsibility for the gradual Christianisation of "society," has allowed that certain means, not intrinsically good, might be adopted to realise its end; it has never approved the doctrine that any means, however bad, might be adopted: and that marks the whole distinction between compromise and surrender. But modern war, as the American Churches admit, means the adoption of any means. To refuse participation in it is, therefore, the only way to vindicate compromise itself: any other course implies surrender. We hope that, in the interests of his own doctrine, Niebuhr will reconsider his verdict on pacifism.

WHEN IS A FASCIST...?

Rome, 14.3.47.

PEACE NEWS readers may remember a radio debate between J. L. Pritt, KC, and John Maude, KC, on whether neo-fascist propaganda ought to be punished by statutory law. A similar controversy developed recently in the correspondence columns of PN over the question of whether a democratic society ought to permit the organisation of political parties pledged to intolerance of their opponents.

In Italy, of course, fascist and neo-fascist propaganda has been forbidden by law since April, 1945, and this decree is now to be extended to include monarchism. It proposes to include monarchist advocacy in almost the same category as fascist, and any newspaper editorial favouring the return of the monarchy would be a crime punishable by from six months to two years in jail.

The monarchists are still permitted to organise, but it is illegal to issue any propaganda favouring the restoration of the House of Savoy, or even to display the emblem of the exiled King's family. This may sound drastic in view of the fact that at the June referendum 10,688,905 votes were cast for the retention of the monarchy, as compared with 12,672,707 for the republic, but the tendency seems to be to regard all monarchist and "right wing" elements as "neo-fascist," and the police have wide powers to suppress any activity which savours

of fascist sympathy; though, so far as I can discover, there has been as yet, no official definition of what "neo-fascism" is precisely.

Naturally, the monarchist organ, *Italia Nuova*, is apprehensive, and is already accusing the Government of itself adopting totalitarian methods for the creation of a "Police-state." It also charges that the present regime is creating a "Central Political File" (known as the CPC) where the personal histories of millions of Italians are being collected—including those known, or suspected of "neo-fascism," at home or abroad, and of anarchists, separatists and other undesirable political agitators. There are also hinted allegations of telephone tapping and of the restitution of the dreaded OVRA Secret Police system, under the name of SIS (Special Information Service).

This and the label "Fascist" are, in my opinion, the most contemptible instruments of political rivalry in use today. All objective criticism is silenced by its unscrupulous use. If anyone attempts even the most commonsensical criticism of political idiocies—such as Potsdam, for instance—he is instantly labelled "Fascist." It becomes impossible

Guilty: Then and now

JOSEPH JACKSON has justification in one connection; Labour was out of office by the autumn of 1931. I must, however, disclaim responsibility for an error that occurred during amendment of my original article, necessitated by the proposed cut in the size of "Peace News." Before publication I wrote, pointing out that "In 1932-3" should read "During 1931-3." The alteration to 1931 was overlooked. Apart from this I must adhere to my article, and if I am to be quoted, my statements should be cited.

I did not say: "Labour (as a movement) engaged in a clamour for starvation in a world glutted with plenty." I said two things: 1. "A Labour Government (1931) became the willing instrument for introducing the economy cuts, means test, etc." 2. "That that Labour Cabinet's remedy was to increase poverty in the midst of plenty." These truths still hold.

The fact that some Labour members or ministers "refused" to accept recommendations and condemned anti-socialist policies or tendencies, does not alter salient facts, just as protestations, rebellions, etc., make no real difference today in relation to conscription and foreign policy. I shall be convinced today, as then, if and when the "rebels" reveal the courage of their convictions by repudiating the false leaders, resigning, or resigning and forming a genuine socialist opposition in reply to present day betrayals of socialist ideals.

Finally, the so-called "libellous" statement has been repeated, often, and isn't there an inhuman means test still operating?

H. GARDINER.

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Professional Pride

MAY I, with good will, protest against Edward G. Smith's letter that professional pride is the source of the medical profession's refusal to give up vivisection. Indeed, vivisection would be dropped at once were there any discoverable alternative.

I am, myself, a diabetic. My health and wellbeing are literally poised upon the point of a needle. The insulin that keeps me alive was discovered by animal experimentation. I live a very useful, a very beneficial life; also a very busy life indeed, finding it difficult to extract enough hours

out of the day to get even a minimum of sleep.

I could, of course, go into revolt and refuse to take my insulin: I could become weak and lethargic, I could do my work indifferently, I could refuse to give insulin to my diabetic patients, I could within 18 months allow myself to die by a miserable decline increasing with the months.

In so doing I might be greeted in the next world by the angels and archangels for having squandered my

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life away as a noble protest against the austerities that lie at the background of all medical science.

But I prefer to live here and now and to support my wife and family in the normal way. I prefer the realities of health and duty as I see them face to face, rather than abstraction, which, however good-natured and gentle, yet contains within it the doubtful ethic of suicide.

Besides, even if my life were useless, I am too big a coward to commit suicide, anyhow.

(Dr.) J. C. JONES.

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S.E.25.

(This correspondence is now closed.—Ed.)

Propaganda

THE leading article of Mar. 7 is open to very strong objections. It is a very prevalent view, I know, that we must choose the right and damn the consequences. Lord Milner and Mr. Churchill share this philosophy with many pacifists. There is, however, another side.

1. Some regard, surely, is due to the claims of truth. War defenders and vivisectionists defend their cause by making innumerable claims of great human benefits gained. The warmongers garble history and leave out half the truth to prove the only way to freedom. The vivisectionists use statistics in a monstrous and dishonest way to justify their cruelty. In the interests of truth, lovers of humanity should state the facts and confute the garblers.

2. The individualistic intuitionism of your article is not satisfactory, though I used to hold it many years ago. We are concerned, in estimating the moral value of an act, with its consequences to human welfare. More mischief has been wrought in the world by conscientious folk with right motives than by all the villains of

THE TIMES

... demand renewed devotion and new endeavours for peace. Every fortnight this space instead of appealing for your money, will remind you personally of ways in which you can increase the influence of the only pacifist newspaper.

Dependence on charity, a gratifying experience in times of emergency is no basis for our normal work. Circulation restored only to its war time level would more than pay our way.

Donations are still most welcome, but it is your active help we principally need. Watch this corner every other week and act on its suggestions. Renewed life this spring, growth in the summer, a good harvest of new readers in the fall!

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even to comment factually upon economic or cultural necessities without running the risk of being so branded.

In the present state of Europe, the first requirement for the functioning of democratic political life, is the publishing of an official definition of fascism, so that people will know where they stand. Until then it is almost impossible for patriot, political economist, theoretician, reformer, or even philosopher, to express himself without fear of being interpreted as "neo-fascist," and slung into jail.

The position is fast becoming intolerable to writers, artists and educationists also, and unless the obscurity is lifted, it will lead to a situation where all efforts at European reconstruction will be frustrated by fear of committing ideological heresy.

FREDRICK LOHR.

history. The Good which includes the effects of one's actions is a concept of more ethical moment than that of the Right. Philip of Spain, Oliver Cromwell, Bismarck and Winston Churchill were inspired by what they deemed high motives of policy. But they paid little regard to the effects on human beings of their misguided and warped consciences.

3. Is it the case that Pacifism gives no apathy to peace as you seem to believe? I remember a programme of economic and political policy issued by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group years ago. It would most certainly have saved us from this war and all its horrors if it had been carried out. More than that, some such programme is still the only hope of the world. It meant the giving up of power-politics, the pooling of food products and raw materials on a world wide scale, the renunciation of imperialist claims and the disbanding of national armies. What hope can the world have of deliverance from war by means of a body like UNO with its absurd veto and its dominance by the world powers who have fed on war for ages? If Pacifism has no way to peace, there is no way.

RICHARD LEE.

Coventry.

(The reader of my leading article of March 7 will find nothing there to contradict Mr. Lee's first point; nor, I think, can my argument for pacifism be called individualistic, unless "society" has a conscience apart from that of its individual members. The programme Mr. Lee sketches in Point 3 is not distinctive of pacifism, which is the refusal of individuals to make war, and if it succeeded in bringing peace, as it might, would disprove his first statement.—Editor).

Official Secret!

THERE was some acrimonious talk, during a recent parliamentary debate, concerning responsibility for the war; but this seemed to become simplified into accusations about "failing to sanction rearmament." So the really sinister note, during the general break-down, was a silence: no official spokesman attempted to save his own reputation by reminding people that they chose the inevitable aftermath when they chose to go to war. Is, then, the ultimate fear of any government—to discredit war?

I think we, who are pacifists, ought to write to our M.P.s about it. Among their mail-bags full of letters of censure, let them find a few which proclaim their innocence, but which also insist that they should tell the electorate why they are innocent.

OSWELL BLAKESTON.

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I. The Outlook in France

BEFORE the war, our meetings, journals and pamphlets made widely known, even in remote quarters, the heavy responsibility which rested upon the manufacturers of armaments, and firms for whom war is a paying proposition. Now, though everyone realises this, nothing has changed—a war-psychosis persists. Less often, we drew attention to the responsibility of the workers and engineers in the factories, the bureaucrats and heads of departments—less often, because, after all, it is necessary to earn a living, and any employment is a blessing. Clearly it was necessary to expose this evil business; but, since the sickness goes on, a remedy has to be sought elsewhere.

The first necessity is the education of individuals: and let us state bluntly that militarism, capitalism and ignorance will only be put to sleep on the day when every people genuinely aspires to freedom. That golden age seems distant enough; but it is possible, even now, for a far greater number of men and women to be made aware of the realities of their present situation; and only a large body of people, capable of thinking for themselves and saying "No" to whatever is bad for humanity, is required to change a great many things! At the same time, this refusal, if it is to benefit society, must be accompanied by constructive activities, inspired by a true religion and reliable morality.

If we are to propagate our views intelligibly and effectively, we must study ways and means of expressing ourselves. So long as we dwell in a realm of ideas, we shall be left alone; but once we get down to brass-tacks—appealing to the public conscience for simultaneous (or if need be, unilateral) disarmament, resistance to war-loans and trusts, refusal of armed service, etc.—we may anticipate, sooner or later, suppression by the authorities.

Alternative service

I attended lately the preparatory conference of the WRI at Cambridge—the first international reunion of pacifists since the War; and the Swiss delegate, Suzanne Girard, told us that the Federal Council of her country had taken up in March a scheme of civilian service. Now "alternative service," as it is called in England and America, appears to us a lesser evil. It is far from being perfect—consisting frequently in auxiliary service to the army, it raises objections on the part of our

by
GERARD VIDAL

foreign comrades—but at least it makes the public think: the simple realisation that there are men who refuse to take up soldiering confronts it with a question.

I think that our pacifist propaganda in post-war France ought to concentrate largely upon the necessity of civilian service for young men who do not intend to fight. The Geneva International Civil Service has opened some enterprises, in France and elsewhere, and fine work, involving mutual aid and sacrifice, is being carried on there. This service is not indeed, recognised by our Government; but at least the young man who consents to undertake it for a certain term cannot be charged by a Government commissioner or procurator with wishing to shirk his "duties" and offering nothing to the community. He may serve his country—not with the murderer's tool, but with pick and shovel.

Yet how comes it that so many people feel, in their heart of hearts, the enormity of war, and yet no politician dares, over here, to uphold our cause? It is because faith in peace is still rudimentary: men wish for peace, but without the effort of securing it. They wish for peace, and all the while go on exploiting their fellow-men: an impossible position; for the exploitation of man by man leads to war. But can our existing economy exist without making war? Capitalism can only in this way find employment for all, or nearly all. And that is the great disease of capitalist democracy. Is a planned economy any

better—I leave it to each to decide for himself.

Many, not to say the majority, of us in this country want to go on living always under the star of democracy, and are seeking anxiously to save our hopes. But I myself, at bottom, can hardly see any other way than by means of personal example. Instead of disputing and expatiating on the world as it ought to be (each thinks differently from the other, and ideas clash barrenly), let us be content to see it as it actually is, and study the opportunities that offer themselves for changing it for the better. In this jungle, let us, with those who are near at heart to us, live our ideal and propagate it enthusiastically. In this way, perhaps, we may be more successful in convincing our neighbour—but let us not argue with wolves. Every conscious person becomes a force, and thus our movement gains ground.

Whatever is noble and exalted comes to assist our triumph: faith, if we are happy enough to be of a religious (I do not say a clerical) disposition; reason, if we prefer to follow some reliable morality or healthy philosophy; and in either case love, which alone can raze the ultimate barriers.

Health and thought

In order to think well, it is naturally needful to be strong and healthy; and it is worth remarking that many pacifists become vegetarians. Claude Mèlo, in *Les Cahiers du Pacifisme* (May, 1946) remarked that it is those peoples who are most nearly vegetarians, the Swedes, Danes and Norwegians, who are, as far as Europe is concerned the most pacific.

As for pacifist propaganda, while men exert themselves against conscription, women too have a great word to say; and we are indebted to Marthe Goulliart who, in *Les Cahiers du Pacifisme*, runs a feature on "the mothers' pacifist movement."

In conclusion, I would like to quote one of my seniors, who, despite his great age and precarious health, upholds our convictions tirelessly in *Les Cahiers*, Gouttenoire de Toury: "Go on, as men, urging concerted general disarmament, and, as Frenchmen, unilateral disarmament if need be, thus revealing to suffering humanity the path of progress and civilisation."

2. THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

SOON after the end of the third Reich, the German peace-movement, which was completely destroyed by the Nazis, began its activities again. Every organisation in occupied Germany, including pacifist ones, has to be licensed by the competent officer of the Military Government.

It was a problem whether one great, common pacifist organisation should be built, or whether the numerous traditional organisations, of before 1933, should be re-formed. But there was insufficient connection between German pacifists after the long Gestapo regime, and it was impossible to restore it in the months following surrender. The individualism of the German pacifists, too, was a hindrance to a great, strong, unitary organisation. So we have again to-day a

—RUEDIGER FRANK—

one of the first German pacifists to communicate with us after the war, is a member of the War Resisters' International group at Freiburg in the French Zone. We print his article as it was received by us this March, except for some rectification of the English, although it appears to have been written some two months ago.

great (perhaps too great) number of pacifist bodies in Germany.

In March, 1946, the *Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft* held its first conference. The DFG was founded as long ago as 1892, and had nearly a thousand local sections, with 30,000 members before 1933. Now it has been licensed in the British, American, and part of the French Zones. Its programme includes complete destruction of Prussian militarism, education of youth for reconciliation between the nations, and the creation of a Ministry of Peace in place of a War Ministry.

Education for peace

In the British Zone a German branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation was founded, which is maintained only by a regular printed circular. As a completely new organisation, the *Deutsche Friedensbewegung* was started in Stuttgart, to unite the pacifists in the American Zone. This has very good propaganda, with leaflets and public conferences. The DFB has laid before the committee for the new constitution, a proposal for the constitution of Württemberg-Baden, which makes education for international reconciliation the basis of its whole education-

al programme, and demands the rejection of war as incompatible with our civilisation. Every preparation for war should be punished as a crime. The right of objection to military service, however, is not demanded in this proposal; and this is characteristic of the ideology of both the DFB and DFG, whose pacifism differs from that of the war resisters.

But a *Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner*, representing the war resisters, has been re-formed as well in Freiburg (Baden) and was affiliated to the WRI last year, as its first German section. Groups also exist in Hamburg and other places.

No easy task

The work of German pacifists is not easy. Though we have so many organisations (this list does not include all), the greater part of the German people is apathetic towards all "political" problems, for a variety of reasons. One of these is the daily struggle for existence; but there is also the danger of a new nationalism. There still exists no expressly pacifist paper. (For a long while every pacifist has been expecting the publication of Kuester's excellent paper, *Das Andere Deutschland*, which was banned by the Nazis, but it does not appear.)

In spite of all the difficulties, however, the peace movement in Germany must be keen to educate and enlighten a people, whose *Wehrmacht* was not only the instrument of aggressive war, but its "great school for life."

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PASTORAL

IT is such a pity that the sentiment of the popular song "The more we are together the happier we shall be" is ambiguous, because the two possible interpretations are so seriously opposed as to cancel each other out. That is unfortunate because anything which helps "togetherness" is too precious to be lost to us now. And is there anything in this world as effective as a popular song containing wisdom?

It is hard to know where to turn so as to be sure of the intended meaning of the song. Does it mean "the more of us who are together the happier we shall be"? Or does it mean the "more togetherness there is amongst us, the happier, etc.?"

The question is not a flippant one, for it provides a simple example of a profound issue facing modern democracy. There is a sharp, though obscure divide between democrats in the world today over the meaning of their ideal. Some are bent on quantity and others on quality as its fulfilment, and they don't see how they cancel each other out, pulling their banner different ways. Perhaps this partly explains the haze in the minds of many.

If the song counsels that happiness comes from swarming, it is bad and grossly untrue. Democracy hasn't the ghost of a chance in a swarm. And that is just what disappointed war-weary people are inclined to do. People don't strengthen and cheer each other in a crowd, rather they frighten each other out of all sensible manhood, and it becomes a matter of any way any how. Togetherness purchased at the price of individual personality is a bad and dangerous bargain. The mists hanging over the ideal of democracy will only clear when believers in it purge their hearts of the idolatry of numbers, for the worship of bigness is the deadly sin of modern man.

In place of his anxiety about quantity let the democrat give his devotion to what the New Testament calls the "fellowship of the mystery," meaning the small group of believers—his own household of faith—and set about on his search for togetherness of that quality which "bears one another's burdens and so fulfills the law of Christ," which "in honour prefers one another," which forbids him to do anything through "strife or vain-glory," but which "in lowliness of mind" causes him to "esteem other better than himself."

Along such a path lies the discovery of true democracy. But more than that it is the discovery of what the New Testament most emphatically marks out as the unit of power. The organised mass has put mankind in very little debt for any real inspiration he has ever received from it. Certainly the Christian cause has derived sparse help from its great conventions and conferences. The New Testament records the vast influence on world affairs of a few people co-operating and blended into living cells of fellowship, whose progress was cellular rather than that of the snowball's growth in size. It requires deep humility to acknowledge that the instrument used of the Holy Spirit of God to achieve great redemption is the little community as the unit of power. But that should not be difficult to the thoughtful lovers of mankind who have watched carefully the plain lessons of modern history.

JACQUES.

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BACK TO WEIMAR

"... the best constitution Germany ever had" said Dr. WILHELM KULZ, leader of the German Liberal Democratic Party, in a Berlin interview with GERD TREUHAFT

DR. WILHELM KULZ was the former Mayor of Dresden. He was dismissed from his post when he refused to show the swastika on the Town Hall there.

Today, the Liberal Democratic party is the second strongest party in the Soviet zone, having reached two and a half million votes during the last election. In each of the American and British zones it could count on one and a half million votes. Dr. Kulz is, therefore, the leader of a party which may play a decisive part in the future of Germany.

On a very cold February evening I visited this party leader in his private room in the Pfalzburger street of Berlin and asked him the following questions:

A great decentralisation

What in your opinion would be the best solution for the German problem—should the Allies try to decentralise Germany and establish a United States of Germany?

We are certainly against decentralisation of Germany. It is not only an economic necessity to establish a United Germany—a so-called "Einheitsstaat"—but also for the whole economic structure of Europe, as Germany needs Europe as much as Europe needs Germany.

Should Germany return to the Staatsform which they once had under the Weimar constitution?

The Weimar constitution was definitely the best constitution Germany ever had, and the return of it would find my full support.

Which border for Germany would you suggest—the pre-1938, or the one of 1939?

The borders of 1938, before the Anschluss, should be re-established if the world is willing to give Germany a chance to play an active part in reconstructing a real peace.

Territorial claims

What about the Oder-Neisse Border—do you really think that the Polish Government is willing to revise it?

May I remind you that the Allied Powers declared over and over again that they were not fighting the war for any territorial claims, but for the destruction of Nazism only. Yes, even the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, declared on the 3rd Sept. that H.M. Government was not fighting the war against the German people but against the terrorism of Nazism. We also hope that the Allied Powers remember their declarations which they made in the Atlantic Charter, at Teheran, Yalta and even in Potsdam.

Do you think that the forthcoming peace conference in Moscow will be a success?

It all depends on what you mean

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, March 27, 1937.

The practical suggestion that the Royal Engineers might be used to help in the work of fighting the Fen floods has not been received by the Government with the enthusiasm that such a constructive proposal deserves.

"The region of which I speak is a dreary region in Libya... there is no quiet there nor silence..."

"It was night, and the rain fell; and falling it was rain, but, having fallen, it was blood... and mine eyes fell upon a huge grey rock which stood by the shore of the river, and was lighted by the light of the moon."

"Upon the front were characters engraved in the stone—and the characters were DESOLATION."

—from "Silence: A Fable," by Edgar Allan Poe.

by success. I, myself, have not only attended various international conferences, but also led them, and I know how difficult it is to bring even a solution to the German question. But if the Allied Powers could find a way to abolish the zonal system inside Germany, and could create an economic unity only inside Germany, then we could say that Moscow was a major success.

Don't forget the forthcoming Moscow conference is dealing with four special problems:—

1. Germany's present state.
2. Germany's economic situation.
3. A territorial agreement.
4. What kind of state organism Germany should have in the future.

Do you think that German observers should attend the forthcoming Moscow Conference?

Yes, definitely. We were given a chance to witness the end of the Nazi gangster system. These war criminals were even given a fair chance of defending themselves. Now, on the eve of the birth of a new Germany, a delegation of German observers from the various parties inside Germany should be given a chance to express their views at the forthcoming conference.

Moscow Conference

Do you think the Moscow conference will be able to construct a peace treaty for Germany?

No, I think you are asking too much, but perhaps the conference will be able to draw a temporary peace status for Germany, and after this, a general election inside Germany should be held, from the outcome of which we could elect a German representation to ratify the peace status.

Do you think that in a forthcoming general election your party would gain on votes?

Yes, and we think that many Germans are disappointed with Dr. Schumacher, as he promised his electors too much and is now in a rather difficult position.

Coming back to international affairs, what is your opinion of UNO?

I worked for years with the League of Nations, and I am fully aware of the difficulties which have arisen from the creation of UNO. The reason for the failure of the League of Nations was that it was a forum for international politicians, and not for the people. But if UNO is able not only to bring the leading politicians together, but the nations which they represent, then its major task would be fulfilled.

U.S.E. needs U.S.A.

What is your opinion about the Churchill idea of a United States of Europe?

As you may know, this is not a new idea, and I doubt if the USA would be sufficiently interested in the establishment of a United States of Europe to give us enough political and economic support. We should remember that the USA's major problems do not lie in Europe, but in China, and once again I must say that in establishing such a plan we need full support from her.

Do you really think that there is a Nazi underground movement inside Germany?

Nonsense. The German people are tired of dictatorship, and if a few rowdies are trying to make trouble inside Germany from time to time, they are certainly not representative of the German people. Germany wants to work, we need peace; and from what you have seen of the destruction here you may realise that it will take us a quarter of a century to rebuild Berlin. We need a stabilised German currency so that we can pay our reparations, and at the same time sell our products to foreign countries. It is time we were given a chance to take an active part in Europe's reconstruction.

IF RUSSIA...

A CERTAIN broadcast on foreign affairs recently hinted that if the Soviet government plainly had designs on Turkey and Greece, even to the extent of installing puppet governments on the model of Rumania and Yugoslavia in either or both of those countries, Great Britain and the USA would have to intervene and even be prepared to use their stock of atomic bombs.

The futility of such action is plainly shown by the results of the recent world war. The opponents of Hitler and Mussolini then took the risk of declaring war on a Germany that possessed, as Hitler truly boasted, the most powerful army that the world had ever seen. Their object was to preserve human freedom in the face of the "totalitarian" threat and of the philosophy of life which was its motive power.

We emerged with a Great Britain, great no longer so far as her former leadership of the world in commerce is concerned, and faced with a still greater menace of world domination by a totalitarian State. All the sacrifices of lives and wealth resulted in that. Granted it was a less unscrupulous state, with no fictitious ethnological claims to justify the annihilation of whole races. Still the main features of the régimes which we fought to destroy are to be found there—the denial of civic liberty and of the right of free speech, the subordination of literature, art and journalism (including the mass-media of film and radio) to the official ideology, and above all, the absence of an independent system of justice—the subordination of the lawcourts to the political administration.

The case of the pacifist is thereby immensely strengthened. They who take the sword shall perish by the sword. The evil genius whom we set out to exorcise by methods of violence returns in double stature.

Italy under France

For example, Napoleon falls, and is succeeded by the Holy Alliance, whose works are well known. Incidentally, Italy was much better off under the French Emperor than under Metternich or "Bomba."

What then should Great Britain and the USA and other nations who agree with them in general outlook, do in such a crisis? It would be little more than idle to invoke a Council of Security in which the offender was himself one of the three most powerful members. The only alternative is non-resistance.

It seems strange to anyone who was sympathetic with the views of Tolstoy and believed that by that method—by non-co-operation, to give the title preferred in India—the Czarism would be overcome, to find himself in the position of advocating that method against a Czarless Russia. But we cannot avoid considering the extreme case; if Russia committed itself to such an adventure as the invasion of Greece or Turkey or the more insidious method of getting puppet governments set up there, and if Great Britain, with or without the USA, adopted a policy of non-resistance, how should we deal with the situation, and what is the worst that we could suffer?

Europe under Russia

If we in this country made it plain that we did not intend to resist Soviet ambitions, and the Government of the USA would not proceed without us, it is fairly certain that Russia would assume control of Europe. Puppet governments on the One-Party model would be installed everywhere, and the word of the Party chiefs in Moscow would run as law. Our traditional freedom would be seriously curtailed in many directions. But there would be compensations. No strikes, for they would become illegal. No unemployment. There would be reasonable provision of culture and art—perhaps more than the average Englishman enjoys now. Disputes between employers and employed, go-slow policies, and the like, would be of the past. There would be a national drive for more abundant production, and first things would come first. We should mainly feel the restriction of liberty in the domain of law, to which reference has already been made, and in the fact that all

The restriction of liberty is better than war concludes

GUY KENDALL

formerly Headmaster of University College School, London. His recently published biography of Charles Kingsley has attracted widespread attention.

journalism, literature, film production and art—possibly, if we may believe Lord Russell, all science—would be subservient to the national ideology and the dissemination of the Marxian philosophy. But there would be two qualifying points. The saying of Burke that "in large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities" is still true today, though less so than in the 18th century because of the greatly increased speed of transport. "The Turk," as the orator contended, "cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Kurdistan, as he governs Thrace; nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers which he has at Beusa and Smyrna." *Mutatis nominibus* this is probably true of Soviet Russia. Or even if facts can be shown to disprove it, the problem of governing (or effectively directing those who govern) in Scotland and Scandinavia, would be very different from that of making Turkestan or Tartary conform to Soviet standards. Gradually there would grow up a characteristically British, and that is to say individualistic, form of Communism. There would be the French version, too, and the Teutonic. Once the suspicion of aggressive intentions on the part of the Anglo-Saxon, and even the Germans, were removed, such differences of type might even be encouraged.

Lesson of the Renaissance

Secondly the artist (including the writer, the broadcaster, and the film-producer) would not really lose all his liberty of expression even if he were required to introduce the communist motive into all his products. Let us think once more of history. Many of the greatest artists of the Renaissance were, if not atheist, at least sceptical of the tenets of the Catholic faith. Yet they contrived to express what the inner urge bade them through the medium of rather classical-looking Madonnas, Adams and Eves, and Saints famous and obscure. Or if this is not a true parallel, because several of the Renaissance Popes were as pagan at heart as any, consider the period to which reference has already been made, the reign of Louis XIV, when the suspect study of science, the new ethics and politics, all contrived to make themselves known despite the Court and the Cardinals. Sometimes it needed subterfuge to escape the authorities. The Abbé de St. Pierre was expelled from the French Academy for his dangerous political opinions. Nevertheless he contrived to publish his famous "Plan for ensuring perpetual peace in Europe," though he had to omit the headings of each section and the first few lines; for presumably those were the significant words which would arrest the attention of the censor. But others of the same group, such as Fontenelle, Varignon and Malebranche, disseminated their theories with greater ease.

The Communist dogmas would probably wear thin as time and culture advanced. No educated people could perpetually maintain a blind faith in them. "Das Kapital" is only a convenient text-book to justify a social experiment which could quite well float under a different flag. Its prophecies, like all other forecasts of fact, will fail in part. The restriction of personal liberty, especially in the interest of a dogmatic political theory and régime is anything but desirable. But it is better—almost anything is now better—than war.

GREECE AND TURKEY: U.S. PEACE LEADERS' PROTEST

Publications received

TO read that nearly 10 per cent. of Wales is at the disposal of the Service Departments for military exercise is very startling. Facts such as this must create a deep disgust for militarism and its trappings in many people. Pacifism, of course, does not draw its force from such considerations, but Horror in Wales (6d., Welsh Nationalist Party) may start some pondering on whether such spoilation—the rural counterpart of our spiritual waste-land—is worthwhile or inevitable.

A Working Peace System (N.P.C., 2s.) is a very closely written book, which presents a rather original viewpoint. Seeing the failure of international political associations, Prof. Mitrany sets his hope upon the development of functional relationships across frontiers. But does not "functional" quickly become "economic"? And don't economic strains spell political stresses and war?

The Redemption of Europe (Northern Friends Peace Board, 2d.) is a booklet whose contents belie its tiny price. Carl Heath traces the division of the old unity of European life back to the concession of too much authority to the State by Lutheran doctrine. He shows the need for a new union between spiritual and political life, if the stricken continent is to be healed.

Deeply serious too is a twopenny tract, The Christian and War, reissued by the Church of Scotland Peace Society. Dr. Herbert H. Farmer reveals in a few words the total inconsistency of Christianity and modern war. Clear though this seems to many of us, it is well to have it stated again, as it is here, with insight, kindness and humility.

The current issue of The War Resister, and the first annual report of the Friends Post-War Service both testify to the anxiety of pacifists to bring practical relief to the unfortunate, and at the same time express brotherhood in the sharing of labour as well as the sufferings of war's victims. In a world in which large-scale mass efforts seem doomed to a hardening of the arteries, it is good to see these small personal services maintaining their usefulness and goodness of heart.

The International Youth Review is an excellent little magazine, well produced and full of matter interesting to old as well as young. Of particular merit are Leslie Stubbings' essay "The Spiritual Basis of Peace" and K. Capper-Johnson's "World Government" in the current issue. We wish that all young people were reading this instructive and intelligent publication.

MORE than a score of nationally known church and peace leaders in the United States, today made public in the following letter to the White House, their view that the President's proposed course with respect to Greece and Turkey will "help to bolster the Stalin dictatorship in Russia" and elsewhere, and drain American resources.

Dear Mr. President:

The Administration's proposed course with respect to Greece and Turkey accepts the division of the world into American and Russian spheres of influence and proposes to stop the expansion of Russia and the spread of Communism by force of arms.

By its failure to deal with the needs of the Russian people and by intensifying their fears of being surrounded by hostile military force, this policy will actually help to bolster up the Stalin dictatorship in Russia. And since Communism thrives on war, civil disturbances and poverty, American dollars devoted to bolstering the military forces of dubious regimes in Europe and Asia will serve to multiply the grievances which make people outside Russia also a prey to Communism. American resources will be drained as the nation is thus drawn into the conflict against Russia and mounting chaos throughout the world. In the end our own country will be militarised and dragged into an atomic war with no prospect for the survival of democracy anywhere.

We see no hope, on the other hand, in any programme of appeasement of Russia, since this does not change the radically evil pattern of international relationships and only postpones the inevitable clash of power against power. Nor is it possible for the United States to isolate itself from the rest of the world.

The only hope is in an integrated programme which includes:

1. Rejection of the policy of military intervention.
2. Abandonment of the atomic armaments race which places an intolerable burden on the economy of every nation, including our own. An offer to take immediate steps toward placing strategic points such as the Dardanelles, Suez and Panama under international control, and toward universal disarmament and establishment of international controls for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.
3. Use of our God-given resources, no longer squandered on armaments competition and military adventures, for immediate relief of the homeless and starving and for an all-out worldwide reconstruction programme for peace, before it is too late.

As things stand now, our contributions for relief and toward the restoration of the economic life of the peoples of Europe and Asia are too small to prevent starvation and increasing disintegration. The need for putting an end to the threat of war and to international unrest grows daily more desperate but the good faith of our disarmament proposals is in question and progress toward disarmament is completely blocked so long as we are engaged in an armaments race and a power conflict with Russia. Everywhere and every day hunger and fear breed more hunger and fear.

An integrated programme such as we have outlined can break the deadlock. It will enable the peoples of Europe and Asia to become rapidly self-supporting. It will create demands for the products of our own farms, factories and mines. It presents a challenge worthy of the inventive and organising abilities of American scientists, industrialists, farmers, and workers.

The adoption of the course here outlined is also the one way to dissolve the fear and suspicion which grip the Russian people today. It would give the United States the moral leadership of the world, and would create the atmosphere of security, confidence and hope in which democratic forces all over the world could be revived.

George A. Buttrick
Allan Knight Chalmers
Bernard C. Clausen
Donald B. Cloward
Phillips P. Elliott
Donald Harrington
John Haynes Holmes
Jessie Wallace Hughes
Hannah Clothier Hull
Charles W. Iglehart
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John Oliver Nelson
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Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York
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Council on Christian Social Progress, New York
First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N.Y.
The Community Church, New York
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War Resisters' League
Women's Int. League for Peace and Freedom, Swathmore, Pa.
Union Theological Seminary, New York
War Resisters' League
Nat. Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D.C.
Committee for Amnesty, New York
Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York
Peace Fellowship of Presbyterians
Peace Section, American Friends Service Committee
Women's Int. League for Peace and Freedom, Philadelphia, Pa.
President Colgate-Rochester Theological Seminary
Union Theological Seminary, New York
Nat. Council for Prevention of War, Boston, Mass.
Union Theological Seminary, New York
War Resisters' League
Friends Committee on National Legislation, Washington, D.C.

*Signed as individuals.

More freedom for PoWs

AT question time in the Commons on March 18, the War Secretary announced the following fresh advances in the freedom allowed to German PoWs.

Camp Commanders may extend the five mile limit imposed on prisoners leaving the camp. Authority may also be given for individual prisoners of exemplary character to travel outside the normal limits.

Prisoners may enter private houses on invitation without prior permission of their Commandants, subject to the right of the Commandant to put a particular house or district out of bounds.

The patches on prisoners' clothing and distinctive lettering will gradually disappear as chocolate-dyed battledress becomes available. This battledress will be unmarked and those prisoners who have it can take it into wear at once.

Prisoners will be allowed to attend football or other games in organised parties at the invitation of the management or local authority, but will not be allowed to compete with the public in queues for limited accommodation.

PoW bands will be allowed to entertain their friends in return for hospitality where it is possible for a hut or hall to be used outside the camp. Payment for admission will not be permitted, and incidental costs must be paid for by the PoWs.

The approval of the Control Office for Germany and Austria must be obtained before PoWs may take part in educational activities outside the camps.

When replying to later supplementary questions on wage rates for PoWs Mr. Bellenger concluded: "I think the main thing is to get these prisoners back to their own country."

On the day following this announcement Mr. Tom Williams, Minister of Agriculture, stated in the Commons that twenty thousand prisoners are to be offered full-time jobs as civilians on the land in Britain and will, in effect, be as free as British citizens.

PAMPHLET ON PoWs

The latest pamphlet* in the Peace News series recounts Christmas experiences with PoWs and includes a very useful appendix on the men's needs and what can be done to improve their unhappy lot.

The first issue is sold out but a further edition will soon be available. Quantities cost 1/-d. per dozen post free, single copies 2d.

**The Little Yellow Bird," by Roger Page, price 1d.

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MEETINGS, &c.

GT. HUCKLOW. Nightingale Homes. Week-end School Sat. & Sun., Ap. 26 & 27. Spkr.: Frank Dawtry. "The Prisoner in Prison." Sun. a.m., "The Prisoner in Society." p.m., "The Death Penalty." Cost 12s. 6d., Sat. tea to Sun. tea inclusive. Booking with 2s. 6d. must be in by Ap. 1 to Eleanor Pease, 28 East Bank Place, Sheffield 2.

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LITERATURE, &c.

"ON EARTH Peace," the APF book, cloth-bound, published at 7s. 6d., now reduced to 3s. post-free, for wider circulation. Articles on Pacifism by Archdeacon Hartill; Canon Grensted; Canon Scrutton; Rev. Paul Gliddon; Middleton Murry, and others—from The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, 1 Adelaide St., W.C.2.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London. VERA BRITAIN'S Letter: complete set (200 letters) for sale. Proceeds to FRS. Box 651.

SITUATIONS VACANT

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Relevance of Russian expansion

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

IN a very curious comment on these events, the New Statesman (Mar. 22) says:

"President Truman . . . has promised American aid in rebuilding the Greek and Turkish armies, unilaterally as a piece of dollar strategy directed quite openly at the Soviet Union. That he has done so after a long period of communist expansion is irrelevant."

If the behaviour of Russia prior to President Truman's statement is irrelevant to it, one would like to know what, in the New Statesman's opinion, can be relevant. The sentence is nonsense: intended to cover the worse than nonsense of the preceding sentence, which says that the strategy is "directed openly at the Soviet Union," as though that were a crime. Why on earth not? Has the Soviet Union not openly directed its strategy towards the most colossal expansion ever indulged in by one ally at the cost of others?

So warped is the mentality of the "fellow-travellers" in this country that for USA to call a halt to this process of Communist expansion is an act of aggression against Russia. In order to justify this extraordinary insinuation, the Communist expansion which provoked the belated "Thus far, and no further" is described as "irrelevant." It beats the band.

Mr. Bevin tied to U.S.

UNFORTUNATELY, this cannot be dismissed as a mere stupidity. The New Statesman represents or gives directives to a body of Labour MPs. And its nonsense is the prelude to appeal for "a drastic re-shaping of home and foreign policy."

Roughly, the argument is this. The reason why the Government is failing to act decisively in the economic crisis at home is because Mr. Bevin believes that British security depends on USA. Therefore, it is implied but not stated, the Government refrains from pressing on with its Socialist solution of the crisis in order not to offend USA.

"The alternative to accepting President Truman's lead and paying the political price for another American loan is a drastic re-shaping of our home and foreign policy. This would rally the Labour movement, but also divide the country. To combat the unemployment crisis which would threaten us if the Government decides not to ask for another loan, Mr. Attlee would have to take emergency powers at least as large as those assumed in 1940; and he would have to use them far more drastically against the employing class."

I omit quoting the rest. It amounts to a totalitarian Five Year Plan for Britain, a withdrawal from the Middle East and Germany, and "a basing of our security on the Anglo-French alliance."

Compulsion for the mines?

SUCH a policy, the New Statesman adds, "would be both revolutionary and risky." It would indeed. For the Labour Government to assume totalitarian powers on the strength of an election in which it received 52 per cent. of the total vote would be a direct onslaught on democracy. Again, the very first purpose for which they would have to be used would be to raise coal-production to 250 million tons. Are the miners to be compelled to get it? On this crucial point the N.S. is eloquently silent, though it must know as well as I do, that it is really not the machinations of the employers that are the chief cause of the present crisis, but the decline in the productivity of labour. The idea that the Labour government can overcome this by assuming dictatorial powers is quite fantastic.

Why has this singular frenzy suddenly seized the N.S.? Apparently, from a horror of Britain being implicated in the new American policy towards Russia. To prevent this it proposes that Britain should go Communist herself—for that is what the suggested policy amounts to. It is a lamentable exhibition of the bankruptcy—intellectual and moral—of Left Socialism in Britain. It is a mad solution. But there is a real problem.

Gromyko goading U.S.

THERE are plenty of caveats to be entered against British involvement in the new American policy towards Russia. But one thing is to

be emphasised about it. It has been brought to a head by the all-important fact (which has been curiously played down in the British press) that Russia has rejected international control of Atomic Energy. USA is far more atom-conscious than Britain; and the reports are unanimous that the Russian attitude in this matter has done more than anything else to harden American opinion against Russia.

"Russian action on the atomic bomb has been probably the biggest single factor in lessening support for Wallace." (D. W. Brogan in The Observer, Mar. 23).

"Pax Britannica is over. Who then shall be the keeper of the peace? The gravity of this question was made much heavier by Mr. Gromyko's speech at the Security Council on Mar. 8. His refusal, which seemed definitely to bar the way to any international control of atomic energy, is a major item in the chronology of shock." (The Economist: American Survey, Mar. 22).

"It is hard to say whether Mr. Churchill's cleverness at Fulton, or Marshal Tito's folly in shooting down American planes did more to raise the flood; but the climax was reached when Mr. Gromyko bluntly rejected the whole of the Baruch proposals for atomic control. The effect of this last act has been greatly underestimated in Britain; to Americans it seemed the wanton sabotaging of a wise and generous offer and final proof, for those who needed it, of Russia's sinister intent to paralyse any action through the United Nations." (New Statesman, Mar. 22).

Is U.S.A. determined?

NOW the only possible immediate reply to this criminal attitude of Russia towards atomic control is to stake out strategic positions

FOR APRIL

Our Easter Number will be on sale a day earlier—April 3, containing articles by Vera Brittain, Joe Watson and an Easter cartoon. 6 pages.

The April 11 issue will be of 4 pages, but we shall be printing an eight page issue on April 25 containing a full report of the PPU AGM.

April 18 is the date for our next book review number of 6 pages.

against her. Russia has asked for it. The question which deeply concerns Britain is whether USA is really going to act up to her new policy: really going to take over British commitments. There is a very serious danger that Britain may be left in the position where she supplies the men and USA the money. That would be quite intolerable: morally and economically.

The interpretation we would like to put on the new American policy is that it means that USA is determined to meet Russia on its own level and drive a really tough bargain with her; that she has made up her mind to support the British economy not with new loans, which will only be the wages of British mercenaries, but by reducing her tariffs. In other words, that she really intends both to take the strain of holding up further Russian penetration of the Western world and to build up a genuinely interdependent economy in the non-Communist world.

But it is no use gulling ourselves. The American mentality has a long way to go yet before it will be prepared to do both these things effectively, with a real sense of commitment. In the interim, the situation is full of danger. One obvious way of driving the reality home to USA is to go on resolutely reducing our armed forces till they reach a point where they are proportionate to those of USA. If USA keeps less than one million men in the services, it is preposterous that Britain should have more than 400,000.

U.S. must aid federation

IS USA going to take the positive responsibility for safeguarding the peace and laying the foundations of a non-Communist world-society? It is asking a lot of that great, but very irresponsible, capitalist democracy. Pumping dollars will not serve the turn, though it may help to tide things over till the real issues become clear. Nothing eventually will serve but to help the non-Communist world to become a federation of free societies, economically interdependent on a system of genuine mutual aid, and based on goods not gold.

Happiest afternoon since captivity

PoWs SEE 'HAMLET'

An enthusiastic reception was accorded to the Colchester Repertory Company when they voluntarily gave a special matinee performance of "Hamlet" for the benefit of German prisoners of war from the 186 PoW Camp, Berechurch, reports the East Anglian Daily Times, Mar. 21. At the end of the performance, the 360 prisoners, who were accompanied by three officers, stood in their seats and stamped and cheered to show their appreciation.

"The performance was in English," the report continues, "which many of the prisoners could understand, some of those present having seen 'Hamlet' performed in Germany in 1938."

"Edward Jewesbury, who played the title role, afterwards thanked the Germans for the reception they had given the play. Speaking in German he said, 'The liberal mind and the fine arts know no frontiers. Rest assured that it is our sincere wish to build a better world together.'"

"The Camp Commandant and the German camp leader expressed thanks to the Company."

"The Rev. W. Morton Barwell, of Colchester, has since written to the Company, stating that the Camp leader, in expressing appreciation of the effort, told him the prisoners had referred to the 'happiest afternoon they had spent since they were taken prisoner,' and 'an unforgettable experience.'"

HAROLD MORRIS

GOING to work on his motor-cycle on March 5, Harold Morris of Cleford skidded on a sharp bend and was crushed by an on-coming transport lorry. He died the same day in Macclesfield Infirmary.

While serving in the RAF, Harold Morris was released for civilian work. In the three years that followed he came in contact with Friends and on being recalled, felt impelled by conscience to refuse orders. Court-martial at Camberley and 92 days' imprisonment followed and he was recommended for discharge from the RAF by the Advisory Tribunal, an officer testifying that his character was "Very Good." Shortly after his release he joined the PPU.

Harold Morris had been married only five weeks earlier at Friends' Meeting House, Manchester. His wife and parents are at 14 Cross Lane, Cleford, Middleswich, Cheshire.

CONCERT TO AID PoWs

WILFRED WORDEN, the celebrated pianist and composer will appear at a recital in the Kensington Town Hall on Monday, April 21, at 7 p.m. It is in aid of the work of the Prisoners of War Assistance Society who are appealing for help in the selling of tickets and publicizing the concert.

Admission charges will be 6s. 6d., 5s., 3s. 6d., reserved, and 2s. 6d. unreserved. Tickets and descriptive handbills may be obtained from Mrs. R. Stokes, 11 Joseph's Road, Guildford, Surrey.

GUNS BEFORE BUTTER

30,000 tons of the highest grade steel have been allotted for the immediate manufacture of new type fighting vehicles.

—Daily Express, Mar. 17, 1947

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ANOTHER STEP FORWARD

OUT-OF-DATE restrictions on fraternising with the Germans are to be withdrawn, reports the Daily Herald's Berlin correspondent.

A new decree is being drawn up which will encourage rather than otherwise British personnel to visit German homes.

Permission to spend the night with German families may be granted if the head of the Division approves.

The ban on staying at German hotels and hostels will be removed on the understanding that British guests bring their own food and pay in German money.

N.P.C. DIRECTOR BACK FROM U.S.

Mr. Gerald Bailey, M.A., Director of the National Peace Council returned on Mar. 13, from New York after a month's visit to the United States, undertaken for the strengthening and development of contact and co-operation between the organisations in Great Britain and America concerned with the problems of peace and international relations and especially between the British Peace Council and the National Peace Conference in New York.

Mr. Bailey discussed future plans with the Directors or Committees of some thirty national organisations, addressed meetings of various kinds in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, Boston, New Haven, Richmond, Champaign, and a radio public in the Middle West, attended a Conference between the United Nations and private international agencies at Lake Success and had interviews with officers of the United Nations, the British Embassy, the State Department, the FAO and other international bodies as well as with representative Americans. Mr. Bailey made an interim report on his tour to the National Peace Council at a meeting held on Mar. 24.

KINGSLEY HALL IS IN THE (EVENING) NEWS

Cocoa is being provided free to women shoppers queuing for potatoes at Martins Corner, Dagenham. In two hours, four members of the Kingsley Hall Settlement served six gallons to three queues. Their spokesman said: "This is our idea of practical Christianity."

—Evening News, Mar. 12, 1947

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